

## Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8731

S E C R E T MONROVIA 0542

NODIS

FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, OAU

SUBJECT: ANGOLA AND THE OAU SUMMIT

REF: STATE 10166

1. I CALLED ON PRESIDENT TOLBERT THIS MORNING AT HIS REQUEST TO DISCUSS ANOTHER SUBJECT WHICH IS BEING REPORTED SEPTTEL. FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS WAS PRESENT BUT NO ONE ELSE. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF OCCASION TO RAISE UBSTANCE REFTEL. TOLBERT RESPONDED POSITIVELY AND EMPHATICALLY.

2. HE TOLD ME THAT THE PRIMARY REASON THAT HE HAS ACCEPTED INVIT- TION TO ATTEND IDI AMIN'S FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION THIS COMING WEEK IS SO THAT HE CAN CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE MODERATES' VIEW ON ANGOLA (TOLBERT ACCOMPANIED BY DENNIS PLANNING DEPART FOR KAMPALA MORNING JANUARY 24). TOLBERT INFORMED ME THAT HE ALSO PLANS SPEND A DAY IN KINSHASA (PRESUMABLY ENROUTE KAMPALA) TO DISCUSS ANGOLA WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU (I PICKED UP RUMOR SUBSEQUENT MY MEETING WITH TOLBERT THAT HE ALSO CONSIDERING STOPOVER IN ABIDJAN.

3. I MADE PRESENTATION DRAWING HEAVILY ON PARAS THREE AND FIVE OF REFTEL. (I HAD ON JAN 16 GIVEN FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS COPIES OF SECRETARY'S FORMAL STATEMENT AT HN JANUARY 14 PRESS CONFERENCE.) I ALSO LAID STRESS ON OUR DESIRE TO BE AS DIPLOMATICALLY

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HELPFUL TO AND SUPPORTIVE OF THE MODERATES AS WE COULD BE,

POINTING OUT THE OBVIOUS NECESSITY FOR DOING SO QUIETLY (TO WHICH TOLBERT AGREED). I ASKED FOR HIS SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT WE MIGHT DO OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO DO TO BRING ABOUT THE MUTUALLY DESIRED RESULT IN ANGOLA.

4. TOLBERT VIGOROUSLY STATED THAT HIS VIEWS WERE IN CONSONANCE WITH OURS AND THAT HE WAS WILLING TO USE EVERY RESOURCE AT HIS COMMAND TO CONVINCE HIS AFRICAN COTLEAGES THAT CEASEFIRE, TOTAL WITHDRAWAL ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND FORMATION OF GOVT OF NATIONAL UNITY WAS ONLY VIABLE SOLUTION FOR ANGOLA. TOLBERT SAID THIS WAS HIS POSITION, IT WOULD NOT CHANGE AND HE WOULD (A) TRY TO KEEP OTHER MODERATES FROM FALTERING AND (B) TRY TO PERSUADE PRO-MPLA HEADS OF STATE THAT INSTALLATION OF A REGIME IN ANGOLA BY MILITARY FORCE WAS NOT IN THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF EITHER ANGOLA OR THE BALANCE OF AFRICA. IN TOLBERT'S VIEW, IF SOVIET-CUBAN-MPLA FORCES PREVAIL IN ANGOLA, SIMILAR ADVENTURES CAN BE EXPECTED ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. WHEN I ASKED IF THE PRO-MPLA HEADS OF STATE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THIS POINT, TOLBERT SAID "NO, THEY DO NOT SEE THE LONG-TERM DANGER. THEY VIEW THE SITUATION EMOTIONALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY WITHOUT REGARD FOR REALITY". HE POINTED OUT THAT SOVIET-CUBAN-MPLA SUCCESS IN ANGOLA COULD EASILY LEAD TO NEW SOVIET AND/OR CUBANS' ADVENTURES LAUNCHED FROM GUINEA OR ELSEWHERE.

5. TOLBERT STATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WOULD STAND ON PRINCIPLE AND TRY TO CONVINCE OTHERS OF THE RIGHTNESS OF HIS VIEWS. HE SAID HE IS CONSIDERING SENDING A SPECIAL ENVOY TO TALK WITH NETO TO TRY TO CONVINCE HIM OF THE RIGHTNESS OF THE MODERATE VIEW. HE LAMENTED THAT FACT THAT QUOTE OUR SIDE UNQUOTE WAS HINDERED BY THE NECESSITY FOR THE USG TO OBTAIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL TO BE OF FURTHER MATERIAL ASSISTANCE. HE EXPRESSED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF PRESIDENT FORD'S PROBLEMS IN THIS REGARD BUT EXPRESSED REGRET THAT QUOTE OUR SYSTEM UNQUOTE PREVENTED US FROM DOING THE RIGHT THING WHILE QUOTE THE OTHER SIDE UNQUOTE HAD NO RESTRICTIONS ON IT WHATSOEVER.

6. I REITERATED TO TOLBERT THAT WE WOULD DO ALL WE COULD TO SUPPORT THE MODERATE STATES. I REMINDED THAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD INDICATED THAT HE WOULD WORK WITH CONGRESS TO TRY TO OBTAIN REVERSAL OF THE SENATE ACTION AND SAID I ASSUMED APPROPRIATE STEPS WERE  
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BEING TAKEN IN THIS DIRECTION.. TOLBERT SAID THAT UPON HIS RETURN FROM KAMPALA, HE WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO PASS ON SOME NEW THOUGHTS OR SUGGESTIONS TO U.S. HE SAID HE WANTED TO CONSULT WITH AMIN AND OTHER BEFORE MAKING SUGGESTIONS.

7. PRIOR TO MEETING WITH TOLBERT, I HAD A FEW MINUTES ALONE WITH DENNIS DURING WHICH HE GAVE ME QUICK BRIEFING ON ADDIS MEETING. HE INDICATED THAT NIGERIA WAS THE "HEAVY" AT ADDIS ABABA. SAID

NIGERIA

WAS SPOKESMAN OF PRO-MPLA GROUP AND REJECTED EVERY EFFORT OF MODERATES TO EFFECT ANY VIABLE COMPROMISE. NIGERIA INSISTED ON PRO-MPLA PROPOSALS BEING CONSIDERED ON QTE TAKE IT OR LEAVE BASIS UNQTE. DENNIS SAID CUBANS WERE PRESENT IN LARGE NUMBERS (AT LEAST THREE CUBAN AMBASSADORS WHOM HE KNEW, INCLUDING UN PERM REP) AND WERE MOST ACTIVE IN THEIR LOBBYING EFFORTS. DENNIS ALSO SAID SAMORA MACHEL'S BEHAVIOR MOST UNHELPFUL. HE ALSO THOUGHT TANZANIAN AND NIGERIAN OUTBURSTS AGAINST PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER WERE TOTALLY UNCALLED FOR. SAID HE AND MANY OTHERS THOUGHT LETTER WAS REASONABLE AND PROPER STATEMENT OF U.S. POSITION. HE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT OUTBURSTS MAY HAVE DETRACTED FROM CREDIBILITY OF SPEAKERS.

8. COMMENT: TOLBERT LED THE DISCUSSION THROUGHOUT THE MEETING. HE WAS FORCEFUL AND OPEN AND COMPORTED HIMSELF AS AN INDIVIDUAL SPEAKING FROM DEEP CONVICTION. I BELIEVE HE WAS SINCERE, WILL TRY TO QTE HANG IN THERE UNQTE AND WILL EXERT HIS BEST EFFORTS TO BRING OTHER AROUND. DEPARTMENT MIGHT WISH CONSIDER A SHORT PERSONAL NOTE OF ENCOURAGEMENT FROM PRESIDENT AND/OR SECRETARY TO TOLBERT AND/OR DENNIS PRIOR TO THEIR DEPARTURE FOR KAMPALA. THEY WOULD REGARD SUCH AS A USG VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND MIGHT FURTHER STIFFEN THEIR RESOLVE. END COMMENT.

9. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH PASS RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THIS MESSAGE TO LAGOS AND KINSHASA.  
BEAN

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